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CHILDHOOD

47 857

There are practical jokers, even among the children, who 824
throw clinging or mildly irritating grasses (*Nama hispida* is one) 522
at someone or hide them in his bed.

The children of an encampment organize expeditions to search 857
for certain delicacies which are not plentiful or valuable enough
to figure in adult food economy. Ground cherries, the red fruits 222
of the nipple cacti, and willow buds are gathered, and cotton- [26]
wood buds are chewed like gum. The search for honey provides
another diversion:

> When I was a boy, so long ago I can hardly remember it now, there was a certain bee we used to get. When it collected honey the children caught it, split it open, and sucked out the sweet stuff from the body. They didn't eat the whole thing. Only children did this. I never saw grown-ups do it.

When hives are found in the trees, a smudge fire is started under the tree and the bees are smoked out. A cliff hive is dislodged by well-directed shots from slings. For a ground hive another method is employed: "When the hive is in the ground a boy stands over the small hole and lets the bees out one at a time. Others kill each bee as it comes out. When all the bees are killed, they dig out the hole and eat the honey."

To the stock of playthings which the child makes for himself 524
are added toys given him by his parents or other relatives. Little
girls are presented with buckskin dolls filled with grass,[9] toy cra-
dles, water jars, and burden baskets. For the boy the obvious [824]
plaything is a small bow and some arrows made of ocean spray,
mock orange, snowberry, willow, service berry, or *Edwinia amer-* [237]
icana. As a blanket for her doll cradle the girl uses a cottontail
rabbit skin. A rabbit-skin cap, with the ears left on, is made for
the little boy.

The older boys and girls enjoy swimming, a sport which a 857
child begins to master at about the age of eight. A practical pur- [481]
pose is credited to another activity:

[9] These dolls are not supposed to approximate the human form too closely, for anything that has great likeness to a human being but is not animate is suggestive of a corpse. The mothers would not, at first, allow their children to have dolls of European type, claiming that they were "too natural." [532] [177] [764]

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AN APACHE LIFE-WAY

A practical purpose is credited to another activity:

We used to chase birds and butterflies. We would let the butterflies go after catching them. Both boys and girls did it. The old people said it would make us fast runners. In wet weather we could catch big birds. Their wings get wet in the rain and they can't go fast.

An unusual type of recreation involves the bat:

The boys used to build a fire at night. When the bats came by, they would throw their moccasins at them. They would get them in the moccasins and kill them. That's how the Indian boys used to play at night.

857 535 86 424 The children imitate many of the social and ceremonial practices of their elders:

During this time Old Man J., a lively old man, used to come out and sing for us while we danced the masked-dancer dance in the evening. The old people would be there and watch. We didn't dress up. The old people didn't allow us to dress up, for it was said to bring evil influence. The songs which were sung were N.'s songs. J. would ask him if it would be all right to sing these songs, and N. would tell him to go ahead.

Actually the boys learn much more than the steps and songs of the masked dancers on these occasions. For instance, the exchange between the two old men must have impressed upon them that ceremonial songs are personally owned and that permission must be obtained from the owner before using them. When the children are playing masked dancer away from the camps, they sometimes violate the rule about wearing costumes and make headdresses to wear and wands to carry.

857 [535] Social dances are of increasing interest to the children as they grow older. "We used to dance the circle dance too, just the boys. Sometimes the old men would join in and sing for us. They certainly had a good time watching us."

857 868 [824] The children organize elaborate and dramatic imitations of adult occupations. They hunt, with tall grass as the woods and playmates for the game animals. They go scouting and defend themselves against enemy attacks, using spears made from sunflower and lupine stalks.

857 867 868 Boys and girls play house in a realistic manner. They build small homes modeled after the regular residences (often making them large enough to enter), play man and wife, entertain visitors to whom they extend the amenities, and arrange feasts with provisions concocted from sticks and mud:

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605 If you hide from your cousin, then anything she has, whether it is money or
834 property, or anything else, she will give to you. You can't refuse a request from a person who hides from you. And it's the same for you if she needs anything.

[183] Since cousin avoidance is voluntary, where it will lead to complications or where the individuals concerned are likely to be thrown together constantly, it is seldom begun.

582 If marriage between cousins is prohibited, is it not difficult, in
602 view of the small population, for a young person to find a suitable mate? Sometimes this problem does arise, and young men
769 have been known to journey far from their homes for the purpose of making contacts which could lead to marriage. That the issue does not become more serious is due to two factors: the mobility and extensive range of these people and their anxiety to eliminate all mention and memory of the dead. Because of the first factor, families, except for nuclear groups of very close kin, tend to move apart and lose contact with each other. And because the names and antecedents of the departed are seldom mentioned, connections between remoter kin are soon forgotten when the families are separated.

605 When circumstances warrant, the cousin avoidance may be
834 terminated and the more ordinary manner of behavior toward a
182 relative of this degree resumed. The details of the procedure are the same as those governing the abrogation of affinal avoidance.[15]

886 *Grandparent-grandchild relationships.*—The wish for long life and old age is constantly expressed in prayer and ceremonial
•481 song. The staff on which the old person leans has become a sym-
782 bol of this concept. As one commentator wryly observed: "They pray for the old age staff. They say, 'Let me be old, let me have the old age stick.' If you have the old age stick that means you have reached a long life. But when they get it, they don't like it."

888 It is considered a good omen if an old person blesses a child or
887 performs a ceremony over him, for even as this individual's power and ceremony have preserved him to a ripe age, they may protect the child for a generous time span. The same notion is present in the preparation of the first cigarette. "A person's first

[787]
[852]
[276]

[15] See pp. 174–75.

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At the conclusion of the training period, some boys, to insure their competence in horsemanship, are brought to shamans who perform ceremonies for them originating in supernatural experiences with Bat; for the bat, because of its habit of clinging to objects, is associated with riding ability.

Sweat-bathing is utilized as an aid to fleetness: "Sometimes boys are put in a sweat lodge to make them good runners. They come out and run for about a mile; then they go in again if they wish. It makes them longwinded." In another account it is said that the young men emerge from the sweat lodge and run "while they are still warm." "If a man is training for running, he should keep away from women and should not drink or smoke." However, there is no taboo on the presence of women where youths are practicing running.

As the boy's training advances, the circle of those who are interested in his progress steadily enlarges.

I was a small boy, about nine years old, when I saw this. I remember it well. Many boys in my time saw what I'm going to tell you about. It was just before Geronimo's last war, about 1884 or 1885.

Old Man C. had an orphan boy. He was rearing and training that boy. He had taught him how to ride well. The boy was about fifteen or sixteen years old and was well trained as a warrior. He knew how to shoot an arrow, how to use a sling, how to shoot with guns. He was a good hunter; he could shoot deer. He was as good as the average man, though he was just a young boy.

One man had made tiswin [a weak beer made of maize]. C. went to a crowd of men who were drinking. He said, "I've got a boy. I am his uncle. The boy can ride any horse bareback without a rope on it."

"Well," one man said, "we all like to see things like that. We will bet you two big jars of tiswin. You get that boy; let him ride down that steep hill bareback."

In those days one jar of tiswin was worth a horse, and a horse was very hard to get. That much tiswin was worth a belt and cartridges, or a gun and belt. Guns were hard to get in those days too. So C. told the man, "Give your horse to him. Any side of the hill you want to have him ride is all right."

Nobody knew then that this boy was so well trained. C. had been out training him somewhere away from the rest of the people. The man took the bronco on the side of the hill, and the boy was called over there. The horse had a rope on but no saddle.

Just as soon as C. spoke, the boy would do what he said, whether it was dangerous or not. That boy rode the horse down the hill just like nothing! The horse pitched all around with him but could not shake him off. So C. got the tiswin, and he was drinking and got feeling good.

In those days the warriors never went without their guns. They always car-

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During the ceremony the girl is constantly attended and advised by an older woman. Because this woman punctuates certain moments of the rite with a distinctive, high-pitched cry, one name for her is "she who makes the sound." The first use of this cry of applause is attributed to White Painted Woman when her son returned to her after vanquishing the monsters. The helper is also known as "she who trots them off," a reference to the ceremonial run on which she sends the girl. For the sake of convenience she will be called "the attendant" in these pages.

The role which the attendant plays in the girl's puberty rite amounts to a separate ceremony which fits, like part of a mosaic, into the ritual whole. These women, when they become too old to carry on their duties further, teach their lore to others and thus perpetuate the office.

Unlike the rites of shamans, the ceremony of the attendant is knowledge which was granted humankind by the supernaturals in the beginning. No personal experience is at its root, and it is simply learned by one woman from another. Once it is learned, it is, however, an individual possession. The woman must be personally approached and asked to lend her help, and she may even refuse to participate. She must always be rewarded if she does perform the function.

The place of the attendant, then, is somewhere between the purely individualistic shamanism which predominates in the religious life and true priestcraft. Even here a suggestion of the purely shamanistic premise persists, for women who "know" a ceremony from the moon or who have had a supernatural experience with White Painted Woman are thought to carry on this ceremony with best results. Although exceptions are reported, the attendant is most often a woman of advanced years, in keeping with the custom of having elderly practitioners carry out ceremonies for younger people.

Within reach of any large encampment are women who have the right to act as the girl's attendant. "The choice of the woman who attends the girl is up to the parents. They can choose any woman they want." The understanding with the attendant is reached well in advance:

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The last run is made so that the girl will be strong, so that she will be a good runner and have a good heart [i.e., be brave]. Some used to run about a quarter of a mile to the east this last time. Because of this some girls became as good runners as men in the old days. If they have far to go, they do not have to run all the way. They can alternate between walking and running.

As the girl approaches the ceremonial structure for the last time, the attendant calls; the main poles are pushed to the east; and, as favors are tossed in the air and the children scramble for them, the girl makes her way to the encampment of her parents.

The temporary camps that have been established for the period of the rite begin to disappear. The poles of the ceremonial structure lie unmolested; they may not be used for firewood.

The girl's family stays on the grounds four days after the ceremony ends. During that time the girl can't wash and has to wear her costume. She must use the scratcher and reed for these four days too.

The girl has still another ritual duty to perform:

The little ceremony where the girl gives the horse takes place four days after the close of the big feast. A horse, any kind of a horse, is required. It always was so and has been handed down. She is still dressed in her costume. She walks the horse to the singer. That ends it. Her part is now over.

On the morning of the ninth day "before the sun comes up, the woman who cares for the girl [attendant] prepares yucca root and warm water and washes the girl's hair and entire body."

The prevailing tone of this ceremony is one of pleasure and promise. The physiological aspects of maturation are little emphasized. The behavior restrictions imposed upon the girl are not irksome, and their violation brings no really dire consequences. She is not isolated but achieves recognition as the central figure of a major social and ritual event during which she is likened to a supernatural being. Her formal introduction to adult status is accomplished in the midst of abundance, ritual safeguards, and festivity; therefore, she has little desire to return to the status which preceded the recognition accorded her.

Many heterogeneous elements combine to produce the girl's puberty rite. The singer, the attendant, the masked-dancer shaman, the dancers themselves, the musical accompanists for the social dance songs—all possess individual prerogatives which are not subject to call. The participation of these persons can

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751 757 515 [291] [824] [413] time. About four to six men usually go in at once. They wear just a loincloth. Before they go in, pounded piñon needles or pounded juniper may be rubbed on their bodies by the man in charge. All the men wear sage tied around their heads while they are in there. And they take a drink in which four pieces of mesquite bean have been put. Each man has to bring a stick to scratch with. He cannot scratch his body with his fingers.

Four big rocks are heated outside and then brought to the pit inside with a forked stick. Water is brought. The men are sitting in a circle but leave an open space to the east. Then the water is sprinkled on the hot rocks. Anyone who is appointed can sprinkle water on. One man sits outside and operates the door cover so that the heat does not escape. The man in charge is always in there. He [463] [782] [533] prays in there and leads the singing. Special songs are sung, songs that mention the sweat bath, the earth, and the sky. Usually four songs are sung over and over. All who are inside sing.

The men try to stay in there about an hour. Then they come out and bathe. [481] [826] Some young fellows run a race, too, while they are still warm from the sweat bath, to enable them to become good runners and to make them long winded. That is their belief.

Sometimes the men go in four times during the day. But some can't stand it. K. went in once. The heat was so great that he didn't go in a second time. Sometimes they just go in once and it's over. They rub themselves well with their hands when they come out. Sweat-bathing like this keeps men in good physical condition. It isn't done right away again. They would wait at least fifteen days [888] before doing it again. There is no use for very old people to go into the sweat house. Their lives are spent.

278 *Herbalism.*—Plants are used in the majority of cases, whether the manner of combating the illness be ceremonial or purely secular. "There are all kinds of roots and weeds and herbs, something for everything; nothing was left out." Some plants are considered so "strong" and so "ceremonial" that only those who have supernatural sanction and directions for their use dare apply them. Other plants, usually administered in nonritual contexts, appear in ceremonies if the supernatural power so orders.

751 824 Incensing with the smoke of burning juniper and piñon boughs is mentioned repeatedly:

My people take piñon and juniper, put the boughs together, and burn them. They do it inside the home and keep the members of the family there until they can't stand it any longer. This burning makes a lot of smoke, and they stay there until the tears come from their eyes. Then they won't catch a disease that is around. They do this if there is a great deal of disease around.

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it is permissible "to smack the lips to show that you are enjoying yourself when you are eating out." 264

Not only the stomach but the entire body should be "fed":

> We put grease on the legs when we eat in order to "feed" them. It makes us good runners. After we eat fat meat there is grease on our hands, and we rub them on the legs and say, "Let me be a fast runner." Sometimes the leg bone of an animal is broken, and the marrow is rubbed on the lower legs, the forearms, the hair, and the face while this is said. [826] [481]

There are few special usages in departing from friends or in returning to them. A phrase "said at parting, by people who are very graceful in speech, to a friend, acquaintance, or relative" can be literally translated, "May we live and see each other again." Upon returning after a long absence, the formal manner of expressing pleasure and greeting is the embrace. "Friends and relatives embrace; if a friend does it, it means that he thinks a great deal of you." 576

Loneliness growing out of separations has a special treatment. "If you are lonesome, if you have lost someone, or if your daughter has gone away and you are worrying all the time, they put a basket over your head four times, and then you are all right. Now they use a bucket or a sack too." 828 [178]

There are no set phrases to be uttered when a friend is encountered in the vicinity of the camps. "We have no words like 'Good morning' or 'Good evening.' But when we meet a person, we have to say something. You can't call a person's name. You must be clever and say something appropriate to the occasion. You might start off by asking, 'Where have you been?'" 576 [551]

The question of greetings and salutations directs attention again to the proper use of the name.[1] The manner of its employment is well summarized in two statements: 576 551

> The name is very valuable. Children are taught not to call a person's name when they meet him. My own name is "Making a Bed All the Time." When I

[1] That the name need not distinguish the sex of the bearer has already been mentioned (see p. 9). An incident illustrates the point. "A woman's name and a man's name are not distinguishable. If I hear nothing more than a name, I have no idea whether it belongs to a man or a woman, just from the sound or meaning. My wife mentioned a certain name. I thought she was talking about a certain man. One day I saw him pass by and I said, "There goes So-and-so 551